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Natjurili, a near-clan brother of the mother, heard the girl use this term. He, too, threw spears at all his sisters, tribal and blood.

A general camp fight was on; Dimala, who wanted the combatants to stop, cried, "Stop swearing at each other. If you don't stop calling each other names, I'll have to go throw spears at all my sisters."

If Malambunu had sworn at Badunga's near brother as he had at Badunga's sister, there would have been a quarrel and possible fight; such swearing between men, however, only happens when there is already a fight on. If Balli had sworn at Natjurili's mother or daughter, he would have done nothing.[7]

The person who swears most frequently at a man's sister is her husband, especially in a connubial quarrel. The husband is ego's *dué*, with whom he has one of the strongest relationships.

Yeppa ⟷ *Yeppa* (sister ⟷ sister)

There are the following varieties of this relationship: (1) sisters from the same father and mother and having the same husband; (2) sisters from the same father and mother but having different husbands; (3) sisters having the same husband but different fathers and mothers; (4) wives of brothers of one clan; (5) near-clan sisters; and (6) distant-clan sisters.

There are no taboos between sisters. Younger sisters are disciplined and protected by the older ones. The older ones also teach the younger ones how to make baskets, earn their living, and do the things they should as members of Murngin culture.

Bapa ⟷ *Gatu* (father ⟷ child)

There are five varieties of this relationship, in the following order of importance: (1) the blood father; (2) his brothers; (3) fathers more remote than the first two, but in the same clan; (4) fathers from nearby clans; and (5) fathers from remote clans.

A definite distinction is made between actual father and father's brothers, blood sons and brothers' sons; between father's own brothers and clan brothers of the father. Clan solidarity sharply divides fathers within and outside of the clan. There may or may not be a difference in the emotional attitude of a father and son from a nearby clan and a father and son from a more distant clan. The usual behavior between father and son generally does not hold between a distant son and

[7] There is some evidence that the father is also supposed to participate in the miriri, but this feeling must be very weak since no concrete evidence was collected and it was spoken of but once by a Murngin man, and then only in passing.

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614 tant person. Gatu mielk sees her as a possible mother of her husband and, with marriage matters definitely settled, would make presents to her as such. Husband's mother and son's wife are usually together after the second year of marriage. Gatu diramo would always go to his mokul bapa among others for food if he were hungry.

604 When a man dies and his father is exhuming his bones, all the other
562 women relatives are kept back of a windbreak and forbidden to have
765 a full view of the proceedings; but mokul bapa is allowed to stand by the men and watch, occupying in a lesser degree the position her brother holds in this respect. Further, she, among others, is given the bones of her dead gatu to carry before they are finally put into a hollow log coffin.

604 She occupies as an individual the same position as the father's brothers, who also call their brother's children sons and daughters. She belongs to the same generation and patrilineal line as father's brothers and except for sex she is in every respect the same as they; her brother's children treat her with the respect due their fathers. A better understanding of her position can be gained by examining the relations of brother and sister.

605 So far we have discussed only the social personalities in ego's own patrilineal line. We now turn to two new lines of descent—the alternating dué-waku line which terminates in the term kaminyer; and the momo-nati and arndi-gawel line found, with galle added, in ego's own generation and the second descending generation.

Dué ⟷ *Galle* (diramo and mielk) (father's sister's child ⟷ mother's brother's child)

This reciprocal has four varieties: (1) dué (man) and galle (woman); (2) dué (man) and galle (man); (3) dué (woman) and galle (woman); and (4) dué (woman) and galle (man).

There are five varieties of the first relationship: (1) cohabiting galle and dué who are actually father's sister's sons and mother's brother's daughters; (2) cohabiting galle and dué who are from more distant clans; (3) actual father's sister's sons and mother's brother's daughters who are married to other dué and galle; (4) galle and dué from the same clan as the father's sister's husband and mother's brother; and (5) galle and dué from more remote clans.

605 The dué diramo and galle mielk relationship regulates the greater
595 part of sexual behavior. The basic idea that a man may have an indefinite number of wives but a woman only one husband at a time

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underlies this most fundamental lateral relationship. Given the correlated basic complex of the junior levirate, by which the next eldest brother inherits a dead man's wife, it would be impossible not to have polygyny; and it is rather difficult to see how the entire system of kinship could exist without the levirate in some form.

A man always tries to obtain his actual mother's brother's daughter; if he cannot get her, he tries to marry someone as near to her in consanguinity as possible.

Usually an older male dué and male galle have an understanding that their sons and daughters shall marry. Such a betrothal could occur before the birth of either child. Sometimes a gawel will promise his wife's next daughter to his waku. Thus, even before birth there is a recognized relationship between dué and galle.

There are several degrees of marriage. As soon as a boy is circumcised and old enough to understand and remember what is told him, his galle is pointed out. At a similar age a galle mielk has her dué diramo shown to her. This is done by the male parents of both children.

The young men and women older than the two usually tease the young couple with somewhat obscene jokes about their relationship and its meaning in their physical behavior. The youngsters are usually shy and ashamed when confronted with such humor; however, as small children, when away from the elders, they play house together. They are fully aware of the sexual act and of sex differences.

About the time facial hair appears upon a boy and the breasts of a girl swell, that is, when sexual intercourse is in their power and of interest to both, they start making love trysts in the bush. They may not copulate at first, but they simulate the act in close contact.

When a girl has her first menses the mother and older women put her inside a house (no special one) and leave her. She is supposed to remain in one place and move with digging sticks as crutches. This represents the myth of the two old women who made the present world, walking with the aid of digging sticks; the older of the two was menstruating. It is believed that menstruation is due to the sexual act, and that the blood is not dangerous to a woman since it comes from the abdomen and not the heart.

When a girl's first menses are over, her father (gawel to her dué) says to her mother (mokul to her dué), "You go make a house for them and fix a camp for them. She is big enough now" (see page 129).

After this, a young couple start living together and are recognized

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593 775 15v the people engaged in the trouble because it is believed a spirit of the dead should not be disturbed by fights until after the last mourning ceremony. It was as father and mother that the two protested, but evidently through the child there was a greater bond of solidarity between them.

605 304 When a young dué is circumcised, his near galle cut their thighs "to show their sorrow." A galle always carries her dué's bones after they have been exhumed.

605 *Dué Diramo* ⟷ *Galle Diramo* (father's sister's son ⟷ mother's brother's son)

There are as many variations in the dué-diramo and galle-diramo relationship as in the dué-diramo and galle-mielk type.

[607] This is one of the strongest relationships between men. The actual brothers of ego's wife (who is the daughter of mother's brother) and the consanguine father's sister's son (who is the husband of ego's sister) have the strongest bond of any of the male dué and galle. Each [431] always comes to the other for assistance when he gets into trouble. When a man is giving presents to gawel for gawel's daughter, he also offers them to galle diramo because he is brother to the wife.

When Narnarngo got himself into trouble with Bengaliwe his dué immediately came to his assistance (see page 86). This is only one instance of scores recorded by the writer.

Dué and galle engage in many enterprises together, such as canoe building. The bond between them finds a full expression in all the everyday activities of life. When a man is in trouble and needs a good supply of weapons it is always his brothers, and his dué and galle, who lend him extra spears and clubs, and who come to his assistance.

605 582 Male dué and galle have added strength given to their relationship through indirect ties; dué's son and galle's daughter will later be husband and wife; and galle will later be, or is, gawel to dué's son, just as dué is waku to galle's father. This last relationship is one of the most binding in Murngun society, and by indirect relationship it occurs twice in the reciprocity that exists between galle and dué: dué's son is waku to galle, and dué is waku to galle's father.

605 The full position of dué diramo and galle diramo cannot be realized until one studies the behavior of yeppa and her brother and her position as the wife of dué. The dué's position therefore includes the following relationships: (1) to his wife; (2) to galle's father; and (3) his son's relationship of waku to dué's galle. Every one of these elements

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contributes appreciably to the solidarity of the two men. Many elements make for conflict if the marriage is normal, but this is overcome by the Murngin with great brilliance in social engineering.

Galle diramo and dué mielk have little direct relationship. Their entire conduct is a pale reflection of the other galle-diramo and dué-diramo reciprocity. Galle diramo marries mari mielk and his wife's relatives belong to a different line from that of dué mielk; dué mielk's husband is kutara in still another line.

Gawel ⟷ *Waku* (diramo and mielk) (mother's brother ⟷ sister's child)

There are two types of the waku-gawel relationship since there are both a male and a female waku, the relationship with the latter being of little importance. There are six varieties of the gawel and waku-diramo type. They are, in descending order of significance: (1) the consanguine mother's brother (gawel) and sister's son, the latter having the former's daughter as a wife; (2) mother's brother whose daughters have been given to waku's brothers; (3) consanguine mother's brothers, but with no daughters given to the sister's son; (4) near mother's brothers and sister's sons; (5) distant mother's brothers and sister's sons, who have a trading reciprocation; and (6) distant mother's brothers and sister's sons.

The first three and the fifth are the important varieties in the eyes of the natives. The fifth will be treated by itself (see page 145), since it includes other elements of the Murngin culture either latent or non-existent in the relationships so far studied. The fundamental facts are that mother's brother is the man to whom sister's son looks for a wife, and that accordingly waku is the man from whom gawel receives many presents and favors.

As soon as a boy is old enough to comprehend, his parents point gawel out to him, or a gawel may tell the boy that he is his potential father-in-law and as such must receive special attention. This means that throughout waku's life he is always giving presents to gawel. The latter at times returns them. All the articles of the daily diet and material culture are included in this gift-making. When a waku has been initiated into the tribal secrets to the point where he knows and has seen his ranga, he often gives the string from it to his gawel. This is the finest gift one man could make to another, unless it were the ranga itself or a hair belt made from a dead clansman's hair. In a way, any of these presents would give an important part of the social